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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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TWO FLIES WITH ONE CLAP

SIC SEMPER!

The Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit"—a "Social Democratic," alias "Socialist," alias "Public Ownership" party paper, which more than once has branded the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" as corrupt—has now, together with its English yoke-fellow, the Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald," hurled the first fulmination against the Manifesto, issued recently from Chicago, and published in these columns, for the purpose of putting an end to the labor-disrupting practices of A. F. of Lism; and, as was to be expected, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," also of that party, reproduces with well explainable satisfaction the fulmination from the columns of its one-time brander. Thus these two flies have placed themselves nicely where they may be flattened out with one clap.

The "arguments" thus jointly made by the duo fall mainly under three heads:

The duo contends, in the first place, that it is a cardinal principle with their party not to "interfere in Trades Union differences." The assertion is false; the reverse of it is true. What, if not an "interference in Trades Union differences" was their posture of support for the A. F. of L. or Tobin Boot & Shoe Workers' Union in the "difference" that broke out between that Tobin-Carey-Sieverman concern, on the one hand, and the Lynn and Haverhill K. of L. shoeworkers, on the other, when the former stood convicted of being leagued with the manufacturers, and of recruiting for them convicts and plug-uglies to scab it on the latter? Or their posture of venomously echoing and spreading the A. F. of L. calumnies of "Union-wrecker," "scab," etc., against the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in the "differences" that broke out between the two organizations, when the former, true to its labor-disrupting spirit, initiated strikes against the latter's cigarmakers at Seidenberg's and at Davis's, against the latter's machinists at Port Morris and Bloomfield, and has ever since kept up the false cry? Or their posture, at their last national convention, in slapping the face of the A. L. U. in the "difference" that broke out between the A. L. U. and the A. F. of L. on the subject of the latter's endearing relations with the Civic Federation?—They do not "interfere in Trades Union differences," don't they? Why they are up to their elbows in interference, but always and only on the side of the labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class, always consequently, on the side of scabbery.

The duo next contends that "the rank and file elects the leaders; if better leaders are wanted, the process should be to enlighten the rank and file." The duplicity of the contention is transparent. Such a contention implies freedom among the rank and file. The organization of the Gompers style of Unionism is builded upon capitalist economics, hence upon despotism for the workingman rank and file. The intimate connections of the pure and simple Union leaders with the employers—possible only in such guild form of Unionism—renders the leaders satraps of the capitalist class, with the Union rank and file as abject dependents, who dare not thwart the leader lest they be deprived of their bread. What about the Corregan case, where the leaders of the International Typographical Union sought to punish free speech and criticism with starvation? What about the Berry case in Tobin's Union? What about the cases of Valentine Wagner and Schmidt in the Brewers' Union? What about the cases untold, where goods, pronounced "scab" by the leader, are allowed to be worked upon in another and "Union" shop with the connivance of the same leader, who would forthwith throw upon the street that unsophisticated rank and file man in such a shop who would dare interfere with the leader's "business"? Need more be said on the subject? Well, we shall cite just one more and crushing instance. The rank and file of the machinists affiliated with the A. F. of L. voted overwhelmingly in favor of Socialism and for throwing Gompers overboard. This notwithstanding, their delegates at the immediately following Boston convention of the A. F. of L. voted the membership solidly against both propositions. And who was it that opened wide its mouth and yelled at this act of betrayal? Why, the very papers that are now prating about enlightening the rank and file as the all-sufficient means for their liberation. It was the "Social Democratic Herald" of January 5, 1905, that came out with three-column wide and flaming headlines on the "Shameless Betrayal of Labor by Its Leaders," over statistical tables showing that the rank and file of the machinists had cast a majority of 2,696 votes to endorse Socialism, and a majority of 1,062 votes to dump Gompers! It was the "Wahrheit" and "Volkszeitung" that echoed these denunciations and figures! And what did the "enlightenment" avail? Nothing, of course. That the mere "enlightenment of the rank and file" will not suffice to change the leadership of bodies, whose economic and sociologic architecture places them at the mercy of their governing powers, Russia is now illustrating. Fain would the Czar and Russian Bureaucracy have the revolutionists limit their activity to "enlightening the rank and file," provided the "enlightenment" always taught a proper deference toward the organization, and instilled a wholesome horror for the thought of upsetting the same. So, likewise, do the labor-lieutenants of capitalism gladly allow their rank and file to be "enlightened," provided always such "enlightenment" be always accompanied with the warning—such as the "enlightening" "Wahrheit," "Volkszeitung" and "Social Democratic Herald" are now uttering—to "be careful lest they give the death-blow" to the structural system upon which alone the labor-lieutenant of the capitalist class can stand and thrive, and by means of which alone the rank and file can be betrayed.

Finally, the duo advances the dogma that "a Trades Union is no political organization, and must be none." In so far as the theory is true, it has no application to the point at issue; in so far as it is sought to be applied to the point at issue, it is false. Of course, technically, a Trades Union is not a political organization. Political organizations are constructed along the lines of existing political demarcations. These are, to-day, Assembly, Senatorial, Congressional, Aldermanic, Judicial Districts, and so forth. Trades know no such fictitious boundaries. They are entities of a different category. But why are they? This is the rub. They are entities of a different category because they are CONSTITUENCIES OF A DIFFERENT SOCIAL ORDER—of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic. In other words, the very circumstance, that compulsorily renders the Trades Union non-political to-day, forces to the fore the essentially political character of the Union. In short, the Trades Union is to-day a child a-borning—not yet freed from the ligaments of capitalist society, yet pulsating forwards into the life of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The evidences of the political character of the Trades Union are innumerable; nor does any quarter furnish these in larger numbers than the very quarter from which the dogma originates. Let a pure and simple Union—that is to say, a trade organization that ignores or even denies the irreconcilable class struggle between the Capitalist and the Working Class—let such a body meet, and watch it. In nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand instances, lobbying committees to political bodies, or discussions on favors received, or injuries suffered from political quarters, will engage, often absorb its attention. A striking illustration of how utterly unable the labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class themselves are to suppress the solemn fact of the Union's political character was furnished in last week's installment in these columns of Comrade H. J. Brimble's matchless narrative of "The Irrepressible Class Conflict in Colorado." Brimble there quotes John Mitchell, the President of the United Mine Workers' Union, as declaring last year: "If there's one Union coal miner in Colorado that is for Peabody—I say this so far as I am concerned—he will be put out of the Union. I say this with a full realization of what it means."

The Trades Union cannot escape its political essence. A droll proof, and withal pathetic, is found in the hysterics of rage that the labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class are instinctively thrown into the moment a member of their organization utters Working Class economics. He need not mention the word "politics"; he need not breathe the word "party"; he need not even whisper the word "Socialism." His utterance of economics that reflect the class struggle is all that is needed. The labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class will jump up with the cry: "No politics in the Union!" It is an instinctive act. No mouse scents the dreaded cat more unerringly. And brilliant is the fact. It illumines the field of the Labor Movement. By the light it sheds, two closely connected facts, both of transcendant importance, leap to sight:—

First—That the properly constructed Trades Union, under healthy social surroundings, need not mention the word "politics." IT IS UNDERSTOOD;

Second—That a bona fide party of Socialism cannot ignore the Trades Union: the party that calls itself Socialist and does ignore the Union, either is sincere, and then it breaks its own back; or it is fraudulent, and then it must have its back broken.

The dogma that a "Trades Union is no political organization, and must be none" is an old, old acquaintance. There never yet was a labor-lieutenant of the Capitalist Class who did not mouthe, nor yet an "intellectual" freak or fraud who did not rant it.

These three are the straws with which the "Wahrheit-Volkszeitung" duo seeks to oppose the Manifesto issued from Chicago—the heralder of the second, and, it is to be hoped, the culminating wave in a Movement, the first wave of which was the S. T. & L. A. And well befitting such straws is the whisk with which the duo binds the bunch. That whisk is: "We shall refuse to join!" Who are the "we's"? If the "we's" are to be understood to mean the private owners of the two papers and their two English poodles, who cares! Nor do the "we's" mean their own wee bits. By "we" they mean their party. They assume to speak for it. In other words, they are doing again what they did once before when they (privately owned concerns) initiated "referendum" votes in a party that they have sought to palm off on the Working Class of America as a party of Socialism—they are issuing orders to their menials.

Like bunch of straws, like binding whisk. It is impossible to be Socialist in a manner more perfectly bourgeois.

R. B.

SECTION MILWAUKEE.

The next regular meeting of Section Milwaukee will be held Saturday evening, February 11th, at S. L. P. Headquarters. Every comrade should be present as business of vital importance will be transacted and every member's opinion is desired.

Frank R. Wilke, Organizer.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

CONGRESSIONAL

CRUMBS THROWN TO MINOR PIRATES BY THEIR BIGGER BROTHERS.

The True Inwardness of the Seal Fisheries Claims—A Bill to Indemnify Would-Be Law Breakers for Unrealized Profits—Men Who Failed in an Attempt to Raid the Federal Treasury Under the Assumed Mask of Foreign Subjects, Are Now Led by Dark-Lantern Senators to Accomplish Their End.

The story is told of the old Astor that a gentleman, who once sought to interest him in a matter of importance, found the multi-millionaire's mind seemingly preoccupied with something else, so pre-occupied that he gave but an interrupted attention to his visitor. Unfamiliar with the workings of a millionaire's mind, the visitor concluded that old Astor had something else of vast importance in hand that was just then worrying him. Presently, however, the old multi-millionaire stooped down under the table, whither his looks had been straying, and re-rising with a dime in his hand said with a joyful mien: "Well, I found it, it had slipped from my fingers just as you came in. I shall now listen to you!" People who are not familiar with this feature of the capitalist may imagine that nothing short of huge "shakes down" engage the minds of our Congressmen; at any rate that small pilferings will not occupy their minds when huge "hold-ups" are at stake. This is a mistake. Senate bill 3410 for fur fisheries claim proves the point.

The long controversy between the United States with Russia and England on the matter of the "Alaskan and Bering Sea" came to a final decision in the Paris arbitration court of 1892. The United States, wishing to protect the seals of those waters against which the seal fishers proceeded in so Vandalic a manner that the seals would have been speedily exterminated, claimed jurisdiction of all the Alaskan and Bering Sea waters. Pursuant to these claims, United States cutters captured and confiscated skips and cargoes of seals caught in that vast region. Russia and England protested. The outcome was the decision of the Paris Arbitration Court limiting the jurisdiction of the United States to the three-mile limit. Flowing from this decision came a number of claims against the United States from shippers and owners of cargoes of seals that had been captured. The Arbitration Court decided that our government was liable in actual, not consequential damages, and awarded the damages to the claimants who proved their cases. The awards were paid.

Of course, there were not a few American ships and cargoes that had been seized and confiscated before the Paris award; and, of course, none but foreign claims against the United States were admissable before the Paris Court. A large number of American shippers sought to avail themselves of the opportunity to profit by the Paris Court, and in order to do so pretended to be foreigners, British. The fraud was discovered and their cases thrown out. But, as Senator Dolliver, of Iowa, put it, "these claimants lost nothing except their nerve, and the appearance of this bill here and the favorable progress it has made in the Senate would indicate that they have got that back."

The status of the foreign seal fishers who were seized by the United States for fishing in Alaskan and Bering Sea waters beyond the three-mile limit, was clear. They were no violators of any law, as the Paris tribunal decided. Otherwise was the status of the American seal fishers so seized. They had knowingly violated the express statute of their own country, and, consequently, could not be entitled to indemnity. But they "recovered their nerve." Nearly fifty of them are enumerated on the list of the bill to be indemnified not only for "actual damages," but also for the damage they suffered by not being allowed to do what? to violate their own country's law. In short, the bill provides not merely for damages to ships and cargoes that were actually seized, but also for "damages" sustained by shippers who were not seized and were deterred from sailing out of port by the vigilance of the United States cutters. These shippers demand, and the sponsors in the Senate back them up, that they be reimbursed for the unrealized profits incident to their failure to get on the ground and violate United States statutes effectively. To the latter category belong most of the shippers on the list of the bill, several of whom which have a record hard to distinguish from common pirates.

The whole amount involved is trifling, relatively as trifling as the Astor's dime was to his millions, when one considers the "Shipping Bill," the "Railroad Rates Bill," the "Appropriation Bill," and numerous such other gigantic concerns on which the capitalist class, represented in Congress, comes in for millions. But it ever is so: Dives needs his Lazarus, and occasionally must stop to fling him a crumb.

GOV. MEADS

Sees the Lettering On the Wall and Quakes.

Tumwater, Wash., Jan. 18.—During the past two years, the students in the state university in the city of Seattle, by studying De Leon's Reform or Revolution and the Kautsy pamphlets, have become very perceptibly imbued with the principles of Socialism of the simon pure brand, which has become a source of worriment to the management. A few of the professors seem to have caught the infection. The news of this propaganda reached the ears of certain members of the legislature, which is in session at Olympia.

The new capitalist governor's attention was directed to this matter, wherefore he waxed indignant, said Socialism was not good; it made young men rebellious. He called attention to the subject in an indirect way in his first message to the legislature, taking the ground if any professor should teach any system of economics not agreeable to the ruling classes, he will promptly be dismissed from the public service.

All the capitalist governors on earth and below cannot prevent the light from spreading. When the sense of justice has once found lodgement in the young heart, it cannot easily be resigned or choked down. Hurrah for the new governor for giving this propaganda an additional boost; his tactics have long grown old; his arts are unavailing; justice will claim her own; capitalism will fall into the pit it has prepared for others through such methods; then the children of light will press onward with the Socialist torch until justice and equity shall reign throughout all the earth: then the Governor Meadses will sleep in forgotten graves.

There is one thing very noticeable in all such documents. Socialism has attained such prestige that no public man dare attack it openly, must resort to insinuation and innuendo.

R. B.

"DER ARBEITER."

A Straight S. L. P. Paper Up to the Handle In the Jewish Language.

We take pleasure in informing the comrades that the Socialist Labor Club of New York, an organization founded for the purpose of publishing a weekly S. L. P. paper in the Jewish language, is now publishing "Der Arbeiter" (The Workman).

An S. L. P. paper in the Jewish language has been a much felt necessity since the suspension of the "Abendblatt." This fact, together with the constant demand for genuine Socialist literature in Jewish, brought about this undertaking. We started "Der Arbeiter" for a trial before the last campaign. We were to issue but six numbers. October 8 the first number appeared. Our sympathizers gave us a helping hand and, as we gained friends, it was decided to continue. We then applied for second class mail petmission and it was granted after some difficulty.

With Joseph Schlossberg, D. Pinsky and E. Alexandroff, of the former editorial staff, in charge, assisted by other able writers, a sufficient guarantee that the paper, from a scientific and literary point of view, will be a positive success, is offered. We request the membership of the party to give us a hand in spreading "Der Arbeiter's" circulation, by getting subscribers. The rates are 50 cents a year, and 25 cents a half year. Elect an agent and let him send us an order at newsdealers' rates, 50 cents a hundred. We can send you as many as you can use. Put them on newsstands or sell them at mass meetings or you can canvass with them. Let us hear from you as soon as possible, and send us an order. We need your help now, and the quicker you act, no matter how small the result may be, the better.

The paper has been indorsed by the N. E. C. of the Socialist Labor Party and its contents are straight S. L. P. up to the handle.

Yours fraternally,
"DER ARBEITER."
2-6 New Reade St., N. Y. City.

BRAVO, LONDON!

Increased Vote Polled in Provincial Election—Will Continue Forward.

London, Canada, Jan. 25.—We, the members of Section London, have today met the capitalist class at the hustings in the Provincial Election for the third time. Our first effort resulted in 126 votes. Our second effort in 1902, resulted in ninety-four votes. Between the first and second elections the uncompromising tactics of the S. L. P. were taught to the workers in no uncertain way. To-night, our third effort, the result is 150 votes. During this short campaign we succeeded in speaking three times. Once at nominations and twice at two large works in the city. We also distributed several thousand leaflets and one thousand cards.

We will now get down to the work of organizing for the next campaign and you will hear from us with a forward march ever toward the final goal, the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

BELLEVILLE SOCIAL DANCE.

Social Dance to be given by the Illinois State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, at Huff's Hall, Belleville, Ill., Saturday evening, February 11, 1905. Admission 25 cents. Ladies free.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

SECOND EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

(From the Jan. 18, 1905, issue of the Helena, Mont., "Montana News", an organ of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic Party.)

WILL GO TO S. L. P.

The first real revolt in the Socialist movement arising from the "impossiblists" and the "revisionist compromisers" at the last national convention, occurred lately in Faribault, Minn., when the local of that place withdrew from the party organization of that State, and passed condemning resolutions against the opportunist, middle-class element that appears to be in the majority.

There is no doubt but that the local did the right thing in withdrawing, for, according to the letters from such men as some of the membership write, who claim that they supported part of the Democrat ticket and that they would repeat the dose under similar circumstances, they would not be considered good Populists, let alone being revolutionary Socialists.

There is a wonderful change coming in the present Socialist organization, and it looks very probable now as if it would go to a middle class movement. If the organization and party drift along in the future as in the past, endorsing the national platform, that Wisconsin compromise and mess of labor union rot, that double-jointed contradiction and class caste hemorrhage run out at St. Louis, where Socialists are barred from working unless of a year's residence in the city; yea, if this is a criterion, the movement has already slipped into the hands of managers and leaders who are not only false to the Marxian revolutionary movement, but are ignorant of the real class struggle from the proletarian standpoint.

The intellectuals who are living in good style and never did a day's work in their lives, may write books and articles on Socialism that captivate the worker who has not given the same study, that he might see the deception, were there any, only understand the class struggle from a scientific standpoint: actual experience has not entered into their make-up. And consequently, when a new comer to the party criticizes their actions they pass it by with ridicule and expect to float at the top of the movement upon popularity—egotism.

This condition, comrades, however, is no barrier to Socialism. The only question arises, is it advisable for these locals that pull off—and many more will in the future—to organize a new organization as mentioned by Comrade Theodore Meyer of Chicago? There is another Socialist organization in this country, and there is no need of three or more. With all the criticism of Dan DeLeon acting as the Pope of the S. L. P., that organization appears to be as near a revolutionary classconscious proposition as it is able to get the same at the present time.

In the next four years a great development will take place; none however will retard the advancement of Socialism. The Bryan-Hearst-Watson gang will come out with a platform "more radical" than the Chicago literary edict, and far in advance of the Wisconsin-St. Louis middle class rot hemorrhages, forming an excellent rendezvous for the "intellectual leaders," while those who are revolutionary will probably allign with the S. L. P.

This bourgeois class who pose as leaders of the Socialist movement in America to-day will rule or ruin, and it looks now as if they would ruin it.

* * *

The proposed platform of the Chicago Socialists was not written by Hearst, Bryan or Watson, although the report has gained currency that such is the case. However, the platform as proposed is noticeable for one thing, the same as President Roosevelt's message to Congress—its length; in fact it only missed one thing and that was giving a biography of its framers, or Bertillion measurement of each individual Socialist in Chicago, and especially of the heads of the intellectuals. It endorses revolutionary Socialism of the international stripe as supported by Hillquit and DeLeon at the late international congress and then it endorses the national literary edict adopted at Chicago. All things to all men. As to work hours, etc., they propose to starve King Capitalism into submission by degrees.

TRADES UNIONISM

In the United States—From Early Times Up to the Coming Chicago Conference.

A very interesting lecture on Trades Unionism in the United States was delivered by Justus Ebert, before the Bronx Borough Labor Union, L. A. 140, S. T. & L. A., on Thursday evening, January 26. On account of the weather the meeting was not as well attended as usual. However, a fair-sized audience, including strangers, listened attentively to the lecturer, who pointed out that American trades unions, from their earliest inception, were actuated by the Socialist spirit and more or less based upon Socialist principles, in contradistinction to the A. F. of L. which is capitalist in spirit and based on the capitalist principle of the mutual interests of capital and labor.

The lecturer recited the attacks of the A. F. of L. upon the K. of L., which, like its predecessors in the American labor movement, was founded upon antagonism to Capitalism.

Comrade Ebert showed the English origin of the A. F. of L., and pointed out the bad effects of its trade autonomy and combinations with capitalist organizations. Here Comrade Ebert quoted Daniel De Leon: "The American Federation of Labor is neither American, a Federation, nor of Labor. It is English, divided against itself, and for Capital."

The lecturer, as well as the chairman, Comrade J. J. Kinneally, expressed the hope that the conference called to meet in Chicago on June 27, will take steps to organize the working class of the nation upon the lines of the S. T. & L. A., thus returning to the historical spirit and principles of American trades unionism upon the plane demanded by modern industrial conditions.

At the close of the lecture a business meeting took place. One new member was proposed and two were obligated. The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Paul Augustine; recording-secretary, Frank Sullivan; financial secretary, William Walters; delegates to D. A. 49, Barthel, Stone and McEwen; organization and auditing committee, Orange, Barthel and Walters; librarian, Martin Polaki.

L. A. 140 will hold agitation meetings every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, at McMahon's Hall, Third avenue, corner 142d street (entrance second door on 142d street). All are welcome.

Press Committee.

FORWARD, PHILADELPHIA.

The members of Section Philadelphia are hereby called upon to attend the regular meeting of the Section on Sunday, February 5, 1905, at 2.30 p. m. Important business is to be brought before the meeting, making for the forward movement of the party in this city. Interesting reports will be presented, giving the lay of the land here, and the many possibilities at hand. There are excellent opportunities for the party now, and we must not lose them. Mark the hour and be present.

Edmund Seidel, Organizer.

BOSTON'S OFFICERS.

Officers and Committees of Section Boston, term Jan. 1, to July 1, 1905:

Organizer, W. H. Carroll; Rec. Sec'y. F. J. Callan; Fin. Sec'y. G. Nelson; Treasurer, S. V. Krouthen; Literary Agent, F. Bohmback. Headquarters committee: Carroll, Schugal and Groonroose. Auditing committee: Burnham, Sache and Houtinbrink. Grievance committee: Carroll, Burnham and Houtinbrink. Agitation committee: Callan, Bohmback, and Carroll. Delegates to general committee: Schugal, Dunack and Burnham. Delegates to Greater Boston Entertainment committee: Groonroose, Schug and Dunack.

BRIDGEPORT MEETINGS.

Section Bridgeport, Conn., meets every Sunday forenoon, 10.30 a. m. at the hall in the Nichols Block, Main street near Congress. All workingmen are cordially invited.

Short but interesting discussions upon working class topics.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE

CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History Significance and Failure, Culminating in the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE—Concluded.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATTER.

I.

THE CRIMES OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

The crimes of the Western Federation of Miners constitute a fruitful theme with those who are fighting the battles of the mine owners in the public press. Lately the enemies of the miners have taken to pamphleteering, and the literary bureaus of the governor and his backers are being worked overtime. In addition, that the Republican party may be furnished with an "impartial" estimate of the events which have caused so much discussion, to be used by the managers of that party as a campaign document to offset the use made by the Democrats of the fruits of Peabody's criminal policy, Walter Wellman, a Washington correspondent, was sent into the State, and his articles, opening with a semblance of fairness, wound up with a tirade against the Western Federation of Miners that was calculated to warm the cockles of the bags of money worn by the exploiters of the State in place of hearts.

To residents of this State Wellman's articles were, in the main, simply ridiculous: the man's ignorance and his desire to clear the governor and the Republican party being very much in evidence.

To this discussion the Socialist Labor Party brings an open mind, and, while championing the cause of the workers, will meet the charges of the mine owners and the State administration fairly and openly, something that cannot be said of many looked upon by the Western Federation of Miners as being more friendly to its cause than we. We shall not take up this phase of the subject with the object of proving that the members of the union are a set of persecuted angels, incapable of any of the crimes charged to them by their enemies. That would be an absurd procedure. But we shall take up the subject in a manner worthy of sanity and truth.

The first question which confronts us is: "Is the Western Federation of Miners a criminal organization?" This, to the man who endeavors to get at the truth, resolves itself at once into a question of evidence. The writer, during the past year, has taken part in many, many arguments upon this very point, and the question: "Where is your evidence?" has been, in a majority of cases, quite sufficient to put an end to all discussion.

There has been much talk of an "inner circle" in the union, entrusted with the commission of crime. Talk is cheap, and until the mine-owners come forward with something better than unsupported assertions, we may safely ignore them on this point.

JUDGES OWERS AND DE FRANCE RECALLED.

One of the many complaints brought against the union miners by the Mine Owners' Association, the Citizens' Alliance and the State Administration—a blessed trinity—is that in certain places the union controlled the peace officers and that it was impossible to secure justice. When Judge Owers took action on behalf of the exiled miners of Idaho Springs—who, by the way, have since been subjected to the persecution of the liberty-loving Citizens' Alliance—and against the mob of "respectable" citizens who violated the law and made a boast of it, these respectable citizens and their friends all over the State declared that Judge De France would fix "those anarchists" when he returned to the bench.

Well, the judge did return, and the cases were tried in as fair a court as may be found in the land, but I have yet to hear of any jubilation over the outcome of the trials upon the part of the men who were not as anxious to see justice done as they were to railroad the men who had opposed them to the pen.

The Western Federation of Miners has within its ranks scores of spies, placed there by the mine owners, and it had them there in the past. These men must have penetrated to all parts of the union, and, had the union been a criminal organization, had there been, in reality, an "inner circle" of choice spirits to whom no crime was too vile, surely the evidence of such would have been at hand ere this. We want something more convincing than the mere word of the mine owners, some of whom are direct descendants of Ananias and Sapphira.

Let us for a moment admit that what the Peabody administration and its backers say of the union is true, and that it is a turbulent body, full of designing criminals and honest men. Would it not then be a reproduction of Capitalism in little? The critics would have us look upon this phase of unionism as an isolated fact. We know better than to do anything like that, and, if the Western Federation of Miners be as vile an organization as its most rabid opponents would have us believe, the Socialist may say: "Then, my friend, Capitalism, the system of society which you uphold and which you desire to perpetuate, is responsible."

A LUDICROUS APPLICATION OF SOCIALIST THEORY.

One of the points upon which the Mine Owners' Association is sorest is the question of ore-stealing. With the craft commonly attributed to the Jesuits the mine owners are endeavoring to make it appear that this crime against society—or their pockets, which is the same thing—is the fruit of the avowed Socialist principles of the Western Federation of Miners. A quotation from a pamphlet issued by the "Colorado Mine Operators' Association" serves admirably as an illustration:

"The Western Federation of Miners is openly and formally committed to a so-called Socialist political party which does not recognize the right of private property. On the union cards of the Western Federation of Miners, issued in the Cripple Creek district, is the following:

"'Labor produces all wealth. Wealth belongs to the producer thereof.'

"Many of the radical Socialist members and others who were naturally inclined to be dishonest, took the Federation at its word and the stealing of ore became a settled practice. Large quantities of ore were stolen from the mines and many tons from ore bins and cars, in the aggregate amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, upon the theory that it was not theft, because the ore did not belong to the mine owners. The ore-stealing cases mentioned show that they were practically all committed by Federation men, and, in all but one or two instances, the thieves escaped, because of the difficulty of convicting a union man, or because those who were to testify were afraid to do so, owing to the murderous policy of the Western Federation."

Indignation is apt to get the better of one upon the perusal of such a paragraph as that quoted. Of course, it is quite possible that men calling themselves Socialists may have interpreted Socialist principles in the manner suggested, but the idea that we are trying to expropriate the expropriator by the sneaking methods of the ore-thief is simply ludicrous. And remember, the charge is made by men connected with the stock broking gang of Colorado Springs, through whose manipulations the people of the country have been swindled out of millions. When the workers of America awaken to a realization of the truth so so maliciously misread here, they will not have recourse to the paltry methods of the ore-thief. The stealing of ore has not ceased with the extermination of the Western Federation of Miners in the Cripple Creek district. One would think that, there being little or no Socialist spirit among the men in their employment now, the mine owners of Teller County could lie down in peace, untroubled by dreams of the stolen "high-grade." Alas, the facts seem to point the other way. The mine-owners still think it necessary to employ an army of detectives to shadow their loyal workmen. Had the Western Federation of Miners never gone into the district the ore would have been stolen.

CRIME BOAST OF CITIZENS' ALLIANCE

The Western Federation of Miners never, to the best of my knowledge, boasted of a crime committed by its members. The Citizens' Alliance has done that. Much has been said of the buying of arms by the Telluride union and of the use to which they were put. The Citizens' Alliance mob of that place were around with rifles issued by the State, with the open approval of the governor, and the use to which these arms were put may be found in our treatment of the labor troubles in Telluride. The State loaned a gatling gun to the Standard mill people at Colorado City. If this point were brought up the chances are that the mill-owners would justify themselves by saying that, as they had hired the State militia, they were certainly entitled to the use of its equipment.

REPREHENSIBLE COERCION.

The Western Federation of Miners cannot be held blameless. Members of that organization have committed crimes that were winked at by those at the head. Men have been assaulted and deported by the very individuals who are now going around berating Peabody and his men, because they have done the same thing. It would have paid the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to have set their faces resolutely against any manifestations of the mob spirit. They are paying the penalty of their acquiescence in the excesses of their members now. The acts of the union men have not only furnished arguments for the mine owners, but excuses for their own criminal acts. What in the name of common sense could have induced the Western Federation of Miners to countenance such notices as those posted in the Cripple Creek district in 1901? We are shocked at this idea of men being forced to take out cards issued by the mine owners association before being able to obtain employment, but I cannot see that the coercion practiced by the mine owners is as bad as that attempted, and to an extent, carried out by the union leaders. In fact, I think the attempt upon the part of the union men to force outsiders into the organization is even more reprehensible than the work of the mine owners, as we naturally expect something better from men who make at least a pretense of practicing the brotherhood of man.

In closing this phase, I would say that, were the W. F. M. as bad as its enemies would make it out to be, the fact remains that they themselves are a thousand times worse. The evidence at hand, incomplete as it is, fully substantiates the charge.

II.

THE ASSASSINATION OF A. L. COLLINS.

Of all the events incidental to the labor war in Colorado, none is of greater interest than the assassination of the manager of the Smuggler Union mine, and none has been more lengthily discussed. In this treatment of this affair, the defenders of Governor Peabody view it as an isolated incident. I cannot and will not do so, and, that our readers may understand what is being written of, it is necessaary to go back a little way.

Manager Collins had introduced what is known as the contract system, which is simply the application of the piece-work system to mining. Under the terms laid down by Mr. Collins, the miner was boarded at the company's boarding house and was furnished with powder and tools. When his contract terminated he was paid according to the amount of ore broken, from which the amount due the company for board, powder and incidentals was deducted.

The Smuggler Union is not a rich mine, and Manager Collins, in his anxiety to produce dividends, persistently tightened the screws, and it is said that while some men made fair wages, others quitted in debt to the company.

The men finally demanded the abolition of this system, and upon Manager Collin's declination to consider their proposals, a strike was ordered on May 1, 1901. A number of the old employees returned to work, and the force with recruits from the outside, numbered nearly 200 on July 1. As might be expected, the men were making higher wages than was the case under normal conditions.

The crisis of the struggle came on July 3, when a crowd of armed union men attacked the Smuggler Union, and in the fight that followed two of the defenders and one of the attacking force were killed and a number injured. Those in possession of the mine were forced to surrender and they were lined up and told to leave the district forever. It is said that a number of the deported men were brutaly beaten, and one of them shot while making his way up the trail under the direction of his captors.

When the news of the wholesale deportation in Tellurich of March 14, 1904, was printed about, the incident related above was advanced by the men responsible for the crimes of the present year in justification of their acts. Those responsible for the outbreak of July 3, 1901, dreamt not of the blood and tears that would be spilled in a like move when the other side held the upper hand.

Through the mediation of the governor a truce was arranged, and an agreement was entered into between Collins and the miners, under which the contract system was to be continued, though in modified form. This was to run three years.

MUNITIONS OF WAR VS. MINERS' LIVES.

On November 21, 1901, a fire broke out in some buildings at the mouth of the Bullion tunnel of the Smuggler Union mine. Edgar Collins, the superintendent, gave more thought to the salvage of Wincheester rifles and certain other munitions of war than to the lives of the men consigned to his keeping, and, as a consequence, the fire gained great headway before a messeenger was dispatched to warn the miners of their danger. The warm air of the inner workings sucked in the smoke and gas from the burning buildings, and when William Hutchison, foreman of the Tomboy mine, and a force of men whose attention had been attracted by the fire came upon the scene, Hutchinson at once ordered that the mouth of the tunnel be blown up.

It had been apparent for some time that the buildings could not be saved, and as the mine was not equipped with appliances designed to meet just such an emergency, the responsibility for the lives of the twenty-two men who perished, must be placed upon the management of the mine.

I am credibly informed that a little while prior to the "accident" spoken of, a committee of miners waited upon Manager Collins, requesting the installation of means by which life could be saved in case of fire in the mine buildings, a premonition that was to develop into a dreadful reality. Mr. Collins premptorily declined to consider the request, declaring that while he was manager he would run the mine as he saw fit, and would admit of no interference.

Why have the men who are so busily exploiting the assassination of Collins in their campaign against the Western Federation of Miners refrained from touching upon the deaths of the unfortunate miners, the end of whom was brought about by the criminal negligence of the man who had undertaaken to produce dividends where others had failed? They deem it an "Act of God," as did Adjutant General Gardner, when the lives of seventeen men employed in the Liberty Bell mine were wiped out by a snow slide, although it was shown that the company had cut the trees on the mountaain side for mining timbers, thus increasing the possibility of destructive avalanches. They deemed it "An act of Providence," as did the officers and subsidized press of the Denveer and Rio Grande Railway when a train swept into a raging torrent, at a cost of one hunded and twelve lives, although it was being shown at the very time that the bridge, which was swept away, was old, rotten, and, in the first place, not fitted for the position. It is an "Act of God" to have a track unguarded when it is raining heavily in Colorado. That is what the men who are busily piling up wealth for the Gould family and its French count would have us believe.

WHAT OF THE LIVES SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF CAPITALIST GREED?

The end came to Arthur L. Collins on November 19th, 1902, when he was killed by a shot fired through the window while sitting at cards with friends. It is hard to conceive of a more detestible crime, and although he had been at odds with the union miners, none deplored the murder more than they, especially as it was certain that upon them would be placed the responsibility for the deed. Collins was a hard, fearless man, possessing the good and bad qualities for which Englishmen are notorious. There was nothing of the weak about him; nothing of the coward. He was master, and he didn't care who knew it.

Although the mine owners have spent thousands of dollars in probing the mystery, and have imported a small army of spies and detectives, having at their back at the same time the powers of the State and county, it is a fact that they have not yet produced evidence enough to convict a dog. Yet they go before the country proclaiming the guilt of the Western Federation of Miners, and the men connected with that organization, as if it were a settled thing, and there are "friends of labor" who insult the workingmen of Colorado by "defending" them against the accusations of men who are insane with terror at the thought of a possible uprising of the workers. I had thought it was time enough to think of defending a man when at least the shadow of a case had been made against him.

The workers of the State should pray as fervently to be defended from their professional "friends" as from their enemies.

The life of A. L. Collins was undoubtedly sweet to him and his. Then what must be said of the lives of the men sacrificed upon the altar of capitalist greed?

III

"DRIVING AWAY CAPITAL."

One of the most persistently heard cries of the "Peace at any price" people, is that "Continued disturbances are driving capital out of Colorado."

Is that the case? Allow me to present a little evidence to the contrary; evidence that shows that if the little exploiters are being driven into the nets of the capitalists by the clatter raised by Peabody and his men, there never was a time in the history of the State when the great ones of earth were more eagerly engaged in appropriating and exploiting the resources of nature.

First, there is the case of D. H. Moffat, who at the present time is building a particularly expensive line of railway; I have not heard that he is embarrassed for the want of money.

And again, consider the action of John D. Rockefeller and George Gould in spending millions to gain control of and develop the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. These men have their agents all over the State gobbling up thousands of acrees of the finest coal lands in the world. Does this look as if "Capital is being driven from the State"?

One more instance and we will drop this phase. The "Rocky Mountain News" of August 27th and 28th, publishes statements that seem to confirm the worst suspicions entertained of the Peabody administration. It is said that D. H. Moffat, the most powerful financial magnet of the State, and a strong supporter of the governor, is once more investing heavily in the Cripple Creek district. A. E. Carlton, too, the leader against the union miners in the district, has been a heavy investor during the past year.

This, without further comment, will show the extent to which "Capital is being driven out of Colorado."

IV.

PEABODY, MARTIAL LAW, AND

The governor and his friends are now claiming that he has never declared martial law in this State. Well, he may be technically correect in his statement, but I leave the reader of the foregoing pages to satisfy himself as to the kind of law under which Colorado has been governed during the past two years.

The governor also states that his fight has been directed solely against the "socialistic, anarchistic" Western Federation of Miners, and many writers, taking this statement as being true, when it is a barefaced lie, have enlarged upon the benefits conferred upon unionism by "sober, conservative union leaders like Gompers and Mitchell," to the disparagement, of course, of the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners

In no county of Colorado has the hand of Peabody been heavier than in Los Animas. The union men there, coal miners, against whom all the venom of the governor's nature has been directed, are members of that conservative organization, the United Mine Workers of Ameerica, and led by that conservative man, John Mitchell. There is not in the entire county a single local union of the Western Federation of Miners. This disposes of the governor's statement as to his crusade being directed solely against the Western Federation of Miners.

V.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

As might be expected, the stirring events of the past two years have reacted powerfully on the politics of the State, and a consideration of the outlook may be of value.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party comes up for treatment first, and all we have to say in regard to it is that those in control of the party are "standing pat" on Peabody and his policy. The governor was renominated for office, and we are promised two years more of rigorous repression of any forward movement on the part of the workers, in case of his re-election. The men in possession of that party have, at last, found the man for whom they have been looking and they mean to keep him in office.

There is one good feature about this: The issue is made absolutely clear. That is what we Socialists desire above all things.

Turning to the Democratic party we are confronted by a curious medley of opinions. The leaders are vastly pleased at the prospect of receiving a solid labor vote, but they do not relish the idea of standing sponsor for the work of the trades unionists. As a matter of fact, there is very little difference between the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties; what difference there is is all on the surface.

In my estimate of the Democratic party as it exists in Colorado to-day, I cannot do better than quote from an article which appeared in the "Independent," from the pen of William English Walling:

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

"The dominant faction in the Democratic machine," says Mr. Walling, "is conservative, composed largely of business men and corporation lawyers. I talked with some of them. One comparing the success of the mine owners with the difficulties of the Chicago packers, said that they were on the upgrade in the East, while Colorado had passed the climax and was going down hill. He defended the mobs of the Citizens' Alliance and said that he would have done the same thing under the same conditions. He approved of Governor Peabody and approved of martial law, though he expected to take advantage of what he considered to be the mistakes of the Supreme Court and the militia. The Western Federation of Miners were a 'lot of red-handed anarchists and murderers' to be annihilated. The unions he was 'glad to see licked.' He proposed to get the union votes, but their platform was to be ignored, and a candidate for governor was to be chosen who would concede nothing to the labor element. The workingmen were to be given two conservative candidates, one Democratic and one Republican, and they were to be told: 'Now choose, damn you, choose.' Another Democrat, a former governor, has threatened to bolt if there is any pandering to the labor element. Another, equally prominent, has nothing to say about the Citizen's Alliance or martial law, although he objected to the deportations.

"The Democrats do not object to the use of the government to break the strike."

It may be argued that the writer exaggerates. Not at all. Did space and time but permit, it would be shown that the foregoing is an under, rather than an over estimate.

To Be Concluded Next Week.